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MODECOP members meet. Pilate, Haiti. Photo by Robert Maguire.

Community movement of Pilate

Robert Maguire

The peasants who farm the small coffee plots on the mountains surrounding the village of Pilate in northern Haiti are the primary producers of the region's wealth, yet they live in extreme, seemingly perpetual poverty. Lacking control over the production of their cash crop and access to the resources required to take control, the peasants' economic condition has steadily worsened. At every harvest, they must sell their coffee to *speculateurs*, local representatives of the urban-based coffee power elite, at prices about half the Haitian market value. Unable to obtain agricultural credit and coffee sales

elsewhere, the peasants are indebted to the money-lending speculators and have no choice but to function within the established structure. Trapped in a cycle of dependency and exploitation, they are powerless to effect change.

The scenario is familiar to underdevelopment. A region's wealth is extracted not only from its peasants, but also from the land itself. Expended resources are not replenished. Investment in the land and its people is not forthcoming from those who accumulate wealth, and the peasants have neither the income nor the resources to do it themselves. Economic, social, and environmental conditions deteriorate simultaneously. For any development to occur, peasant producers must be able to benefit from the wealth they produce by gaining access to, and some control over, the economic and social resources needed to raise their standard of living. In short, they must establish an alternative marketing and credit system.

In the case of Pilate, a group of villagers and their priest got together in 1971 to try to start that needed alternative system. Working from the outset by trial and error, the villagers reasoned that only through group formation, cooperative action, and investment would they reach their goal. They recognized that to achieve any significant, long-lasting progress it would be necessary to focus on both economic and social needs through an integrated community development approach. Hence, the Community Development Movement of Pilate (MODECOP) was born.

Among the first steps taken was the identification of a small cadre of natural leaders from the community who could be trained to work as *animateurs,* local community development activists whose primary duty is to assist the formation of peasant groups. These volunteer *animateurs,* acting as catalysts of group formation and initial action, launched a program of peasant education and linked the newly-formed dispersed groups with the movement's leadership.

At the same time, MODECOP initiated a coffee-marketing cooperative and a credit union to provide the structure and the access to resources that would enable peasant producers to bypass speculators. Thereafter, as peasant group members began to bring their coffee to the cooperative, each group also established its own credit union, eventually joining the federated central union in Pilate.

The *animateurs* played a critical role in making the MODECOP institution operational by providing peasant groups with initial guidance as to the management of and participation in the co-op and credit union. Benefiting from the work of the *animateurs,* peasant groups began to function more and more on their own, meeting regularly to discuss the project, their problems and needs, and to plan joint actions to resolve them, using available resources.

Cooperative action gradually resulted in the construction of meeting places and the improvement of trails and roads. After the first few years' experience, it was clear that MODECOP was functioning effectively. Still, resources were badly needed for investment.

At this point, in early 1976, MODECOP approached the Inter-American Foundation for funds (and was granted $181,230) to increase the capital of its coffee-marketing cooperative and credit union, to provide salaries for full-time *animateurs,* and to add resources to leverage further development of the movement's physical and human infrastructure over a three-year period. MODECOP stated that its long-term goal would be to completely shift control of the region's coffee trade from the speculators and urban-based elite to the producers within ten years.

By the end of 1977, more than 110 peasant groups with a total membership of over 2,000 were active in the movement. MODECOP's efforts in group formation had drawn over 30 new groups into the movement's cooperative activities over the past year alone.

The credit union is operating fully and having a marked impact on its members. As of November 1977, they had accumulated savings totaling $12,887. The members do not withdraw their savings. Instead, each is entitled to borrow up to double the amount he or she has deposited in savings. In this manner the peasants are able to avoid taking loans from speculators at usurious interest rates, thus freeing more of their resources for improving their economic well-being. Essentially, with the interest rate reduced from 100% to 12%*, the peasants can pay back loans and are no longer persistently in debt, no longer depending on the goodwill of the speculator for their existence. This is having a real economic impact. Peasants are using loan money to improve their agricultural infrastructure and production by purchasing, for example, improved plant material that provides higher yields. Hence, with the loans generating expanded income, the borrower easily repays the credit union and comes out ahead. Loans are also used for personal uses such as housing materials and shoes for the children so that they may go to school.

The dynamic of the educational program and the practice of the communal gardens have led the Pilate peasants to undertake other cooperative activities. For example, several farmers of one group joined together to build terraces on their own hillside lands after first having learned the technique and seen its benefits on their communal garden land. The terraces will ultimately improve both the quality of the land and its yield and thereby assist these peasants to increase

* Haiti's inflation rate in 1976 was 6.6%, according to the Inter-American Development Bank.

Sorting beans. Pilate, Haiti. Photo by Robert Maguire.

their incomes. Also, these Haitians will be more secure about the future, knowing that they have halted the rapid deterioration of their land.

Development is a process in which people and places change, bringing about social as well as economic gains. In MODECOP's effort to attain total community development, social gains often provide the basis from which improved economic well-being is realized. Prior to their formation into groups, these isolated peasants had little access to one another and hence were ineffective as a force to render change in their own self-interest. By regularly meeting together, planning together, and working together in their groups and in the co-op and credit union, an increased sense of solidarity among the peasants evolved. Now, in the isolated habitations scattered about the mountains, peasants identify themselves as part of the movement. They experience the reality of accomplishing tasks through cooperative actions that were impossible to achieve working as individuals. In the example of the group that built the retaining walls for increased yield and soil protection, it is unlikely that this could have occurred without prior cooperative experience.

MODECOP now buys the entire coffee crop of its members and is currently seeking an export market independent of the Haitian coffee establishment. Peasant participation in the credit union is expanding rapidly, and loans are used for agricultural improvements. Plans are being activated for developing local infrastructure through the construction of "penetration" roads, the acquisition of coffee-processing equipment, and the establishment of a seed and fertilizer bank. The 18 *animateurs* have intensified the important work of conducting educational programs that help peasants to use the MODECOP structure to its fullest. Finally, many peasant groups are extending their cooperative activities. Some have established, for example, communal gardens on which they experiment to improve their farming techniques. The resulting financial gains are garnered to augment their credit union funds. In essence, the critical points of formation, cooperative action, and investment have become integrated in a process of community development.

Although the co-op is now receiving all the coffee grown by its members, MODECOP's effort to market coffee directly to importers, and thus completely bypass the Haitian coffee establishment, is unprecedented and not without difficulty in affording its members all the expected benefits. Nonetheless, once the market is secured the peasant producers will receive roughly twice the amount for their coffee that they would normally get from the speculators. This "windfall" revenue will have a positive impact not only on the peasants' income and standard of living, but also on their ability to invest in agricultural production. Already, the fact that the co-op accepts only clean, dry high-quality coffee beans has encouraged producers to take better care of their trees. Eventually, this care will result in higher yields, which will augment income and loosen more of the resources necessary for reinvestment in the land itself.

Another benefit realized through participation in MODECOP is the attainment of higher levels of individual and group discipline. Peasant group members must attend meetings and work sessions regularly and make weekly credit union deposits. The last factor illustrates how increased discipline correlates directly with economic well-being. Since credit union members can borrow only up to twice as much as the total amount in their accounts, it is to their advantage to save regularly. This gives them a better chance of obtaining the agricultural credit they need through the credit union, thus avoiding the necessity of speculator-backed loans which saddle them with debilitating interest rates. Other economic benefits are realized as peasants discipline themselves to bring clean, dry coffee to the co-op, thus breaking with the custom of selling coffee wet and laced with stones in order to increase its weight.

Participation in the MODECOP process has earned for the peasants more options and increased decision-making ability. Through the credit union, for example, they have gained experience in assessing various factors to decide if and when they will take loans and how they will invest. Significantly, this is not an idle exercise, as access to credit union funds enables decisions to be put into actions that can be seen to have direct economic gains.

The underdevelopment scenario described at the outset does not exist in isolation in Pilate; rather it typifies much of rural Haiti. Similarly, MODECOP does not exist in isolation. The activities that are bringing social and economic gains to peasants around Pilate are beginning to have a wider impact as other communities learn of the project, its strategy and progress, and begin to initiate similar efforts of their own. Thus, the influence of the MODECOP experience in stimulating development processes in other communities may turn out to be its most important contribution to the development of the rural poor in Haiti.■

Robert Maguire, a Ph.D. candidate in Geography at McGill University in Montreal, is currently investigating the impact of agricultural transformations and socio-economic change on French-speaking Black Creole communities in southern Louisiana. A recent consultant for the Inter-American Foundation in Haiti, Mr. Maguire has written several short articles and academic papers dealing with plantation transformations in both the southern U.S. and the West Indies, among them a study of changing perceptions of coastal and interior land use in Dominica in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Societe Cooperative L'Esperance. Pilate, Haiti. Photo by Robert Maguire.

CADEC grants

Early this year the Inter-American Foundation made a grant of almost one-half million dollars to CADEC (Christian Action for Development in the Caribbean), the development arm of the Caribbean Conference of Churches. Prior to 1978 the Foundation had provided another $432,000 to CADEC, which since 1969 has been responding to local social and economic development project requests throughout the Caribbean area. The following article, reprinted from Caribbean Contact (August 1978), describes projects recently funded by CADEC.

The CADEC Development Fund—the agency of the Caribbean Conference of Churches which is responsible for the support of socio-economic projects sponsored by the churches and other non-governmental groups—has just completed its 22nd meeting.

The Committee of the Fund met at the CCC Programme Centre in Barbados on Friday, June 30, and gave approval for the support of 12 projects in nine Caribbean territories. The Committee also approved the refinancing of the activities of three local development communities, and ratified the earlier decisions of a number of sub-committees. Four projects were referred for later decision to a sub-committee which meets in one month's time.

The following is a summary of the decisions taken by the committee:

PROJECTS

Barbados

The Committee ratified the earlier decision to support five small-scale projects in Barbados. These include support to the *Country Theatre Workshop*, a new dramatic group that concentrates on developing the performing arts in the rural areas of Barbados.

An employment-creation project involving young members of the congregation of the St. Jude's Anglican Church in St. George also received support. This project, the *St. Jude's Employment-Creation Project* has resulted from earlier training programmes to provide the youth with practical skills.

The Barbados Child Care Board also received some assistance in developing its programme known as Project Play. This assistance will enable the training of nursing and teaching aides who administer the programme of Child Care and early childhood education and development in a number of centres throughout the island.

Curaçao

Two projects from the Dutch Antillean island of Curaçao received approval: A new attempt to revive agricultural production through a recently formed and government-sanctioned Agricultural Co-operative has received support. This project, the *Zapateer Agricultural Project* will assist with providing drip irrigation to the farmers in the co-operative, as well as enable the availability of tractor services.

Support also goes to the *Obra Di Man Craft Foundation* in Curaçao to assist with a training and apprenticeship programme for a number of youths who will eventually be helped to set themselves up in production.

Jamaica

Three projects from Jamaica were approved.

A Textile Project at Enfield near the northern town of Annotto Bay has had a loan approved to assist it with the expansion of production over the course of a year.

This project has been initiated following the involvement by the Jamaica-based CCC Programme staff in the community over an extended period. The staff met with the residents and identified ways in which community development and improvement schemes

could be started. The project is an attempt to provide employment for the residents of what is one of the more depressed of the rural areas of Jamaica.

Support was also provided for the action of the Jamaican churches in the troubled areas of West Kingston. *The House of Reconciliation,* a programme aimed at the rehabilitation of persons affected by the continuing political violence in the area, has received support.

This House is an initiative of the Jamaica Council of Churches and a special body known as the Churches Advisory Bureau. It will collaborate with other groups in the community in identifying and sponsoring practical projects and other programmes as a means of assisting with rehabilitation and the effort for peace in the area.

A farming project launched with the assistance of the CADEC Land and Food for People Programme and the United Church of Jamaica and Grand Cayman also received approval. This programme, *The Pringle Home Agricultural Project* is carried out on lands adjacent to a Home run by the United Church for destitute boys in the rural parish of St. Mary.

The agricultural programme forms part of the reform of the curriculum of the school as well as an attempt to earn income for its continuing operation. The project also contributes to the overall programme of the Land and Food for People Programme of the CCC, by making available existing church lands for production of food.

Haiti

One project, combining a series of community development, health, agricultural and technical assistance programmes and run by the Methodist Church in Haiti was given approval. This programme is carried out in the Methodist district of Jeremie, and is known as the *Jeremie Rural Rehabilitation Programme.* The Methodist Church has applied for continuing support for the already on-going programme at Jeremie as well as gradual expansion to other districts in the country.

Support was approved for a programme of training of the community leaders who will run the new projects in the other districts.

Antigua

Additional assistance was approved for the *Antigua Fishermen Marketing Co-operative* to enable it to commence operations.

St. Lucia

A Special Project for unemployed mothers sponsored by the St. Lucia Save the Children Fund received support. This project provides employment opportunities for 40 women, who will be enabled to improve their skills in sewing and crafts. The women are organized for production at two centres and the project will provide in addition to the craft items for the wider market, play and educational material and equipment for the centres now operated by the St. Lucia Save the Children Fund.

Trinidad

Two projects from Trinidad were approved.

The *Christ College Vocational School* in Princes Town, South Trinidad, has received assistance over the period of one year.

This vocational school concentrates on the training and general education of young school-leavers who fail to get into Secondary schools. The School provides training in building construction, woodwork, welding and other practical subjects.

St. Vincent

The St. Vincent Craftsmen Co-operative is also to be assisted with its marketing programme. The co-operative is establishing a sales booth at the new Arnos Vale airport so as to guarantee sales of the produce of the craftsmen.

The *Point Fortin Day Nursery* is a project arising out of the work of the Women's Programme of the Caribbean Conference of Churches as well as other social work groups active in the Point Fortin area.

The project which has been planned in collaboration with the Hindu and Moslem representatives of the area will provide services to the people from six areas adjacent to Point Fortin.

Puerto Rico

The Committee approved the first project ever from Puerto Rico. *A programme of community organization and mobilization* aimed at countering the adverse environmental and other effects of uncontrolled industrialization. This activity is sponsored and carried out by the Puerto Rico Industrial Missions.

LOCAL COMMITTEES

Three local committees—in the Turks and Caicos Islands, Dominica and St. Lucia had grants approved for the continuation of their work.

These local committees are set up in collaboration with the churches, Christian Councils, social action groups and projects supported by CADEC in territories throughout the region. They are responsible for the support of projects requesting up to BDS$10,000*

Overall, therefore, the CADEC Development Fund at this meeting gave approval over BDS$890,000 in support of the work of the Caribbean Conference of Churches in project development throughout the region. This brings to BDS$1.05 million, the total approval for projects so far in 1978.■

* Barbados currency: $2.00 = $1.00 US.

Caribbean tourism and development

Herbert L. Hiller

The following is adapted from the author's paper presented in January 1978 at the Second Caribbean Conference, co-sponsored by the U.S. Department of State and the Florida Department of Commerce in Miami, Florida.

About four million Americans last year took vacations in the Caribbean. Americans like to get away from it all under the palm trees and bougainvillea. Their image of the Caribbean also includes clear blue waters, exotic night life, and friendly natives.

Although worldwide tourism for many years has grown more or less steadily at a double digit rate, Caribbean tourism stagnates. The travel industry, more and more, blames this on "restless natives." Commenting on a travel industry forecast for 1978 that Bermuda, the Bahamas, and the Caribbean will suffer the greatest decline of all global destinations, the publication *Travel Trade* observed that "Continuing complaints about native unrest, poor service and high hotel prices were spelled out on a great many of our survey returns."

We shall see that all three are related.

The problem with Caribbean "native unrest," of course, is that it gets press attention and destroys carefully nurtured images. For while Europe can attract tourists even if the natives there are indifferent and rude, prices high, and service declining, the Caribbean is marketed mainly to "sunlust" vacationers. In this scenario, the natives are asked to be orderly, to serve, to entertain, and to stay out of the way. Like Prof. Higgins, exasperated over Eliza Dolittle's refusal to "be more like a man," the travel industry gets peevish when islanders don't play the role assigned to them.

After all, there are rewards to be had. Tourism generates continued contacts with the industrial world, capital investment, managerial know-how, employment, and foreign exchange. Few governments anywhere would deny that they seek such benefits.

The difficulty in their achievement comes in trying to reconcile the touristic image with political reality. For throughout the region, decolonization and development are central themes of national life. These are not quiet processes. The challenge to nations substantially dependent on tourism cannot be meaningful if it offers tourism benefits only at the cost of frustrating national aspirations. If tourism is to serve the region's needs it must deliver benefits as part of—not removed from—the political expression. There was a time when beggars were removed from the streets on the days that cruise ships came in. But domestic reality is no longer easily hidden to satisfy overseas images.

So Caribbean tourism has widely stopped living up to outside expectations. In some places it moves in fits and starts, but in general the region has suffered because a tourist marketplace, unsure about political geography in the Caribbean, has tended to remain anxious as first one island, then another, has had its politics show through the advertised ideal.

This confusion about Caribbean geography, the way all the islands are lumped together, is compounded by international tourism's tendency to make all the islands look alike to visitors. Industrial scale wipes out subtle differences. So does the new sex-exploitative tourism burgeoning on some islands, even if it does tend to occur in smaller-scaled hotels. In both instances the island is only a setting, a picturesque, charming backdrop.

Why, after all, should what goes on in the Caribbean be so troublesome to the travel industry? Nothing happens there that does not happen most everywhere else, and nowhere in the world during this century has so large a region attempted political restructuring without

Bridgetown, Barbados. Photo courtesy of Ministry of Tourism.

insurrection. How can anyone imagine that so-called "bad news" would *not* be coming out of the Caribbean? Consider that while there has been crime and heated political issues vented in the streets, there has been guerilla warfare leading to violent upheaval in only one Caribbean location in recent times. Why can't the travel industry cope with the Caribbean when it can handle New York and Miami?

The problem with international tourism operating in the Caribbean is that it demands an image of paradise. The fiction has become too costly to maintain; unfortunately, the travel industry has found no other use for the region. The high-technology hotels along the beach are too costly to operate to begin with because of maintenance and energy demands. When "the natives are restless," marketing costs also become prohibitive. Attitudes shift. Service falters. It becomes impossible to satisfy visitor expectations, and the travel industry exhorts everyone to achieve the impossible goal, however modest, of giving value for money.

Faced with this situation, some other part of the world could give up tourism for the short run, work out its problems while it developed more substantial resources, and come back to tourism later if it wanted to. For much of the Caribbean, however, an extended touristic drought might lurch the states of the region into economic chaos.

How, then, can the Caribbean use tourism to achieve national objectives while tourism remains so vulnerable to conditions beyond its control? The answer must lie in aligning tourism more with the twin processes of decolonization and development. To begin with, tourists and the industry can relax their insistence that they be treated as such a special case, so much apart from ordinary life. Tourism forever requires defending not because it might not be good to have visitors around, but because the industry never brings the benefits it promises in return for land grants, tax concessions, import allowances, and immigration waivers. Moreover, the cost in human relations is overly high.

Tourism can help the political process by fitting better into local economies and societies, by recognizing and contributing more to the efficacy and legitimacy of indigenous systems. It can use more local materials, adapt itself to local scale and pace, take much of its substance and cues from island life. The modern beachfront hotel has become the symbol of industrial dissipation. Why should Caribbean societies have to accept this role in the international order of things? Granted, North American escapists want to get away from it all. Why does it have to be to over-air-conditioned hotels in the tropics? Caribbeans, after all, are fully human. Why can't we assume they have intelligently come to grips with living in the tropics? Why don't we assume the obvious: that people perform and prosper best when they do what they know? Caribbeans are skilled in tropical architecture. The appropriate technology is available. A certain look and feel, a certain practicality comes from living in a place for several hundred years. There is no reason to believe Caribbean people are less able or willing to make a visitor comfortable because they haven't attended hotel school at Cornell University or Florida International University.

The travel industry makes a critical assumption when it decrees "sun-lust" tourism for the Caribbean. It says that in its view, the traveling public tends to see the region as populated by poor islanders who just can't make it, and that vacationers certainly wouldn't want to be among them. The result of this derogation—with its origin in historical race prejudice—has been the sweeping isolation of tourism from amenable local contact.

The travel industry has convinced Caribbean authorities over the years that this is the only way tourism will work in the region: separate and privileged. The results, however, prove to be wasteful of resources and politically unacceptable. One result of mass tourism in the region has been to drive out the clientele that prefers more intimate experiences, and to discourage, if not bankrupt, hostelries run by local people in the expert manner of inn-keepers the world over. This is not to say that there are not many successful small hotels in the Caribbean. They abound. It is just that the model has been almost totally unacceptable to national tourism planners, as well as international development institutions, who remain convinced by the worldwide travel industry that everything has to be scaled up to fit the universal machine.

Caribbean tourism officials need to understand that the American passion for bigness is ebbing, and that a vast and growing market already exists for experiences true to their place. Within the marketplace a great cry for authenticity, for something to believe in, sounds forth.

If tourism is to serve Caribbean development it is essential that national tourism administrations seriously consider the prospect that tourism can be far less alienating and far more stimulating if left to local initiative. They must also be able to see the sizeable market that today is largely repelled by the vulgarity of Caribbean tourism, but remains potentially ready to visit if Caribbean vacations were to become less bogus and more Caribbean. For only if local policy-makers truly believe the market exists can they begin to figure out what it takes to organize a more efficient tourism in the national interest.

The industry will continue to claim that tourism has to be scaled up for efficiency. After all, you can't build a high-rise hotel on sand without advanced technology. Advanced technology requires ad-

Ocho Rios, Jamaica. Photo by Michele St. Clair.

vanced management skills and the entire panoply of imported standards and values. And these, in turn, call for assured volume. One might just as well argue that there is no point in having small countries that cannot provide a market of scale. But that, too, is a prejudice of the high and mighty. Small nations need to fit institutions to their size—unless they wish to be appendages of the large. The concept of reduction and expansion values is applicable to the way in which the smaller can deal with the larger. It helps us have confidence that Caribbeans can figure out how to channel large numbers of arrivals into many smaller places for them to stay.

Still, this will not be done until the market is clearly spelled out. Here we come to the nexus of Caribbean tourism and United States policy. For a long time that policy has worked principally to guarantee U.S. investments in Caribbean resorts. Today there are increased calls for the U.S. to establish improved air service into the region and for other technical advantages such as upping the duty-free import allowance for returning American vacationers.

Nevertheless, the chief opportunity for American policy initiatives exists because Caribbean tourism policy-makers for the most part have not researched the potential for locally-scaled tourism, and because the region remains substantially dependent on an antithetical mode that is inevitably disappointing. Clearly it behooves the United States to produce a reasonable policy initiative, to offer to interpret the American marketplace in a manner that might support the reorientation of Caribbean tourism along more indigenous and productive lines.

The infrastructure for a more indigenous tourism—small hotels, domestic agriculture, domestic manufacturing and handicraft—has been long neglected. U.S. policy could usefully bolster Caribbean initiatives in developing these sectors. U.S. policy could also be directed to finding and disseminating authentic information on the Caribbean to all U.S. people and thus to the tourist.

Bridgetown, Barbados. Photo courtesy of Ministry of Tourism.

Further procrastination is possible only until the next fuel cramp dramatically and adversely affects the energy-wasteful structures of Caribbean tourism. At that point, global economic realities will join with local political processes to permanently rupture the tattered fabric of Paradise used to hide the integrity of Caribbean life.

When Americans are obliged to curb their energy appetites at home, will Caribbean destinations vie with one another to offer escapists an old-time thrill—leaving the air-conditioner on in the room? Will this be one of the "no-no's" that we're tempted to enjoy, along with boozing it up and over-eating as part of what Good Times are all about? Will Caribbean policy-makers wish to continue to characterize their countries to tourists in these terms while imposing austere conditions upon their citizens?

Moreover, is there any reason to discriminate against local citizenries in the name of some one particular form of tourism? That answer depends on whether Americans will vacation in the Caribbean to enjoy what Caribbean people have to offer. For if they will, tourism can be consistent with the priorities of national development.

Like it or not, the ball is in America's court. In tourism, the ball has always been there, and only addressing it smartly will assist the Caribbean to play the game to its own resourceful advantage.■

The author, a Harvard Law School graduate, is a former vice president of Norwegian Caribbean Lines, former executive director of the Caribbean Tourism Association, instigator of the Caribbean Tourism Research Center, and recipient of IAF funding for research in the field of tourism and development. He is currently the project manager of an "alternate tourism development" in Jamaica. A resident of Coconut Grove, Mr. Hiller is also an organizer of the Coconut Grove Farmers Market as well as Florida Bicycle Tours, Inc., a form of "appropriate tourism to help the development of rural north Florida communities without overwhelming them in the process."

Tourism ejido-style

Robert Mashek

Several miles west of one of Mexico's tourist meccas, Puerto Vallarta, mountainsides rise sharply from the rocky shore of the Pacific. Tropical vegetation covers the steep inclines. A stretch of this dramatic landscape belongs to an *ejido,* one of many pieces of land deeded to groups of the rural poor during Mexico's revolutionary era earlier this century.

Some 95 families live on the communally-owned Ejido de Boca de Tomatlan y Mismaloya, but they have not found the astonishing beauty of the land matched by productivity. Without flat strips for farming, most of these families have eked out a lean existence by fishing, gathering fruit borne by the jungle trees, and renting their small fishing boats to occasional tourists who venture beyond the bright lights of Puerto Vallarta.

A couple of years ago, these people began to come up with ideas about things they could do together to make a better living. They began a consumer exchange for staples, operating out of a thatched hut. Soon thereafter, a group of women started making loose summer clothing for the local market. Through these ongoing joint efforts they have demonstrated to themselves that they can both increase and stretch their incomes, incrementally improving their lives.

Then last year, they came up with the idea of tapping into the tourist industry so active just a few miles up the road. But they wanted to do it on their own terms. Helped by a young man who had tired of being in the center of the touristic whirl and had come to join the *ejido,* they worked out a plan to start up a tourist enterprise of their own. They rejected offers from eager investors to build the latest in luxury hotels and oceanfront apartments on the *ejido,* knowing all too well that other groups like theirs lost control of their land for all practical purposes and ended up with very little benefit. Their thinking was to maintain their own social and cultural integrity, respect their natural surroundings, offer the visitor a simple but comfortable lifestyle that had some semblance to their own, and to provide work with a decent income to as many members of the *ejido* as possible.

During 1977, they themselves built the first four "garden cottages," thatched, with open walls and concrete floors. They cut long slender trees (being careful to fell them within two weeks after the full moon; otherwise, termites would soon devour the wood) and used them for the supporting structure. Palm fronds cover the roofs. They also learned to make attractive chairs, beds, tables, and storage cabinets from the wood available on the *ejido.* A few items, such as kitchen utensils, cement for the flooring, and stoves, had to be bought. Bath facilities were built apart from each cottage, walled with woven reed curtains.

Still, they were far from opening their doors. Four cottages would not make a going enterprise. Since bringing electricity to the *ejido* was out of the question, they decided to rely on bottled gas, candles, and kerosene lamps. Even though they thought they could make do without electricity, a water system of some kind had to be installed. A small dam could be built into a cascade on the mountainside, and from it water could be piped with gravitational force to each cottage below. There were plenty of eager hands ready to continue the work, but no more resources to build additional cottages and the water system.

In September of 1977, after exhausting the possibilities for getting seed capital locally, they made contact with the Inter-American Foundation through an American woman living near the *ejido* who was helping the people to learn to cultivate fruits and vegetables. They requested a grant of $10,500 to help them reach the minimum start-up point. A

Construction at Pueblo Medio. Mexico. Photo by Robert Mashek.

Foundation representative promptly made a visit to the *ejido,* and the grant was approved on September 29. It was the first concrete experience in alternative tourism the Foundation has encountered—and supported. The grant is being used to buy the furnishings and materials not found on the *ejido* and to provide a small fee to the workers who have to give up their time from other income-producing activities.

By the end of February this year, they had made major steps toward launching the enterprise. The water system was installed. A central garden restaurant area was nearing completion for a mid-March opening. Two new garden cottages were under construction, and sites for four more staked and cleared.

The enterprise is organized as a "production unit," authorized by the Agrarian Reform Ministry. All *ejido* members form a general assembly that has appointed a director: the young man with experience in—and distaste for—other forms of tourism. The director, who works without pay, and about 12 young men form the core work force. At this point, each worker receives a fee of about $4.00 daily plus a hefty midday meal. A young couple is in charge of the kitchen. A group of about 15 women who had been making and selling clothes is beginning to make furnishings for the cottages and restaurant: cushions, towels, wall-hangings, room dividers.

The noontime meal is a practice routine in operating the restaurant. They see the restaurant as the first crucial step in generating income, introducing visitors to the enterprise, and setting the special at-home atmosphere. *Ejido* people and some 20 guests will lunch and dine on the one menu of the day, either buffet style or served by non-uniformed *ejido* members and any guests who care to join in. Tables will be dispersed on the multi-level flagstone terrace among the trees and flower beds overlooking the very blue Pacific.

Construction at Pueblo Medio. Mexico. Photo by Robert Mashek.

Since the enterprise will be small, at least at first, and since only those visitors seeking a quiet and simple refuge will be attracted, it is becoming known through personal contacts instead of an advertising campaign. The *ejido* members expect most of their visitors to be Mexican artists, writers, and occasional business people looking for a dramatic slowdown in pace. As for foreigners, they speculate that teachers would be the group most likely to enjoy this kind of vacation venture. Although the height of the tourist season is in the winter months, the *ejido* expects to be unique and small enough to have visitors year-round. Cottage rentals are planned to begin in two to three months when at least two new cottages are completed.

The group recognizes that dozens of challenges and problems lie ahead but it is proceeding with a real spirit of adventure and a willingness to learn. The mushrooming cottage and restaurant complex is already named *Pueblo Medio* ("Middle Village"—halfway between the two most populated centers of the *ejido,* and neither too high nor too low). Here is where some of the *ejido* members are already thinking about building their own homes, just like the economical and pleasant cottages they have learned to build for visitors. They see Pueblo Medio as a place where they, their guests, and the beautiful natural environment can meet and co-exist in harmony.■

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Poverty on the periphery:

The irrationality of it all

Gabriel Cámara

"What is called gayety in the rich is drunkeness in the poor"

Popular saying

We are constantly besieged by abuse and irrationality. Some countries have sufficient nuclear weapons to destroy the world as we know it and yet continue to produce more; other countries' businessmen and bureaucrats prosper at the cost of the progressive impoverishment of the rest of the population. Nonetheless, irrationality and abuse are easily justified by those in power. Nuclear arsenals are legitimized in the name of national security; economic deprivation continues in order to provide the rich with the necessary incentive to further invest, thereby generating income to be later distributed. The irrationality of the poor, on the other hand, especially the poor who live on the periphery of cities, cannot be justified.

The behavior of the poor, however, is not only intelligible, but also justifiable. We need only have the willingness to observe and to listen to the victims. To understand the situation, and to be moved to do something about it, does not require an ideological stance.

The periphery of the cities is where the victims of society pile up. Lack of training and lack of resources sharpen social divisions in a milieu where the most capable establish themselves and the rest remain in a far more precarious situation than that in the rural areas from which they have come. Irrational behavior is especially scandalous within this social context.

The poor are persuaded that life in the city is preferable to life in the rural areas because they believe that in the city their children will have an opportunity to go to school—but they do not perceive that the opportunity to study depends not only on access to schools and free universities, but also on economic mobility and cultural incentives. And, just because they live in the city does not mean they will have access to adequate health services, nor does access to these health services necessarily guarantee good health. Recent migrants, however, will tell you that they have come for schools and hospitals. For those services they sell their lands and animals. Savings of a lifetime, perhaps even of several generations, are invested in the purchase of expensive land from a developer and in building with materials whose sale further enriches the already wealthy. Thanks to this transfer of goods—the posthumous gift of the country to the city—the slums on the periphery of the cities have grown up overnight.

Once there, the migrant's problem is to find salaried work. In the money economy of the city everything has an owner and a price. At the subsistence level in the countryside, personal dignity and satisfaction—no matter how precarious conditions may be—are based on work. In the city they are based on income. The migrant is hired for jobs which others reject as being too strenuous, too dangerous, or too disagreeable. The man who finds work in construction, for example, or the woman who works as a servant, carries out disconnected tasks, with little social recognition and with little hope for advancement other than the weekly paycheck. All is subordinated to the attainment of hard cash.

The city not only claims its due through paying low wages, but the cycle of exploitation also entraps the poor by imposing irrational patterns of consumption. Everything satisfying is a luxury and disguised as easy and instant—drink is already sweetened, purified, chilled, ready to be enjoyed at the pop of a cork. Coffee requires no greater effort than stirring with a spoon. Neither bread nor tortillas need be made at home. Doughnuts and sweets come ready made in cellophane packages. Clothing and shoes are like those of the rich—at

CEG-PROLAC, Chihuahua, México. Photo courtesy of Centro de Estudios Generales, A.C.

least at first sight—because designs are uniform and goods which are manually produced cannot compete with those manufactured. As far as durable consumer goods go, the ingenuity of the consumer society knows no bounds, having developed the installment plan for the poor. A motorcycle, a bedroom set, a television can be purchased on the installment plan—without appearing to be a heavy burden. By paying this way, however, the poor end up paying as much as three times the cost of the product.

The deception is pointless, but still more so is the impact of buying inferior and costly goods on a limited income. Priorities become lopsided. Malnutrition and infant mortality coexist with extravagances such as television sets, shoes and clothes of the latest style, and hi-fis which represent six months's work. The bedroom set of wood and plastic, useless pieces with exotic names, probably costs the same as the construction of the small room in which the entire family lives. In spite of inflation (more than 45%) and unemployment (surely more than 50%), there is an army of people who collect the weekly payments, and the department stores continue selling and the trucks delivering, or reclaiming, merchandise.

The worst damage seems to be the human deterioration that takes place, above all in the productive talents of individuals and their ability to change their surroundings. Reduced to routine tasks, without participation or commitment, an individual's professional competence stagnates or deteriorates. Moreover, most of the goods which sustain the urban consumer are produced by technologies unknown to the majority. Perhaps because one can buy everything ready made, that which is individually produced is done poorly. On the periphery, in spite of the fact that the majority perform manual labor, it is rare to find competent builders, carpenters, shoemakers, ironmongers, etc. There are practically no shops which produce these goods and the houses of the workers who earn their living building the houses of the rich, or the women who clean these houses, show poor construction without and general neglect within. Even at the risk of idealizing conditions in the rural areas, one is inclined to believe that buildings are constructed with greater care, are more stable and more in harmony with the surroundings. Further, one must consider the paradoxical fact that new materials and technologies (metal door and window frames, portland cement, welding, etc.) tolerate poor workmanship in a way that more primitive construction does not.

Our consumer society which directs energies towards earning money, unfortunately also fosters a devil-may-care attitude in the worker towards his job. What is important is to go through the formalities of working up to mid-day Saturday, doing whatever guarantees automatic pay. Should one find a job which is protected by labor legislation, work dissatisfaction can be compensated for by pay increases, vacations, disability payments, and, given the chance, suing the employers. It is the lesson of instant satisfaction transferred to the work place. In addition, it is the example provided by the rich or the politician in our society—that without dirtying one's hands one can live well.

Thus is the extreme irrationality on the periphery of great cities generated—an accumulation of basic needs resulting from the inaction of people forced to idleness by unemployment, by deceitfully easy access to consumer goods, and by the protectionism of labor laws which, in fact, legitimize exploitation.

At this point I would like to share with those who accept this perspective the experiences, strategy, and doubts of promotion work in the periphery.

In some way one must reach the areas of production and consumption. Discussions of social injustice in learned circles are not enough; neither do I believe that retributive pressures which force authorities to regularize land titles or provide basic urban services are sufficient. There is nothing which more effectively strengthens the existing power base than acceeding to such demands. They do not cost much—nor do they alter the basic social structure. On the contrary, responding to popular demands legitimizes the existing power base. Neither can one seriously impugn the existing economic system when the very survival of the families on the periphery depends on it, and when we, the promoters, are not even remotely capable of satisfying basic needs. We undertake, therefore, to work with that which is left to us: free time and the forced idleness of the people due to unemployment, cultural deterioration, alienation, and apathy.

Construction is a particularly appropriate field for action. It is one of the few activities which give rise to local productivity. All the families build their own homes with no help other than their own resources. After the initial effort to build the indispensable, construction stops because other expenses claim disposable income. Additional improvements continue at a very slow pace. Building materials are expensive, but with relative ease a way can be established which permits all family members to work, according to their interests and abilities, to improve their homes. What is important is to utilize technologies which are labor intensive and economical in comparison with industry and which produce an acceptable quality product. A Self-Help Construction Shop can provide materials at low cost, optimize the use of equipment, control quality, encourage good workmanship, and promote the use of appropriate technologies. Our ex-

perience to date suggests that everyone should not have to do everything together, that each family should decide not only the type of construction they wish, but also should build at their own pace. Finally, a simple financial infrastructure (small loans in kind for materials) supplements the limitations of actual available cash.

Another appropriate area for self-help is the health of children under five. Into this category fall 95% of the deaths not due to advanced age or an accident. For every 1,000 live births, more than 100 infants die by the end of their first year of life. This age group is the clear victim of the consumer society. More than the poverty or the living conditions of the slum (lack of running water, drainage, garbage collection, congested houses, etc.), the causes of infant mortality lie in the ease with which the city persuades the mother to use bottled milk instead of breastfeeding her child. That which would be unthinkable in the countryside is often justified in urban areas for aesthetic reasons. However, for the newly born infant, the decision to feed it bottled milk effectively condemns it to a premature or delayed death from malnutrition and sickness. One response to this problem is a Maternal-Child Care Center in which children under five are weighed regularly and the weight registered on a card kept by the mother who is thus made aware of her child's nutritional needs. Children are also vaccinated in the Center; and health care, not only for the infants, but also for the entire family, is fostered among the mothers. Nutrition must be taught, but at the same time the facilities must be created to produce and make available better, nourishing foods.

From these family-oriented self-help experiences, be it a Maternal-Child Care Center or a Self-Help Construction Shop, community-wide self-help efforts such as the provision of urban services, the paving of the streets, construction of recreational areas, and the collection of garbage, can be initiated. It is not a case of organizing the neighborhood to go and demand services from the municipality or the governor, but rather that of facilitating local production for these services, with the allocation of priorities left to the community. Indeed, the authorities have to intervene, not as donors, however, but as part of a complex process in which there are mutual concessions.

CEG-PROLAC, Chihuahua, México. Photo courtesy of Centro de Estudios Generales, A.C.

Seen from this perspective, the next step is not only to promote self-help services, but to establish their self-sufficiency. How can one ensure that a Self-Help Construction Shop or preventive health services do not become dependent on external sources of funds and that the community itself accepts the responsibility for them? The solution probably lies in projects which generate employment within the community and are not dominated by an individual or small group. The project also has to be deemed important and needed by the people themselves. Marketing of products must be open and objectives and organization well-defined. The combination is not easily attained. Cooperative experiences abound but concrete achievements are lacking. How can these islands of social utopia be maintained in the midst of the ferocious capitalism of the city? In the rural areas, where the people control the land, which is the basic means of production, cooperative work increases productivity of their basis of existence; but in the city it is, above all, the abstract power of money which provides security. How, then, can one ensure that a group utilize its profits in benefit of the entire community?

We are working towards the self-sufficiency of the construction shop and health services. The construction shop could succeed in producing parts which other families with more stable incomes would buy instead of making them themselves in the shop. The risk lies in that someone may be buying cheap labor. The health service could be sustained by the collection and recycling of garbage, which would also ensure a more healthy and hygienic environment.

As far as assuring the support of a growing number of families with local productivity for the benefit of all, one must always start from what the group has and what it most needs. In order to begin such a process, one must look for even the most rudimentary productive activities, which exist on the periphery, and promote them and make them productive in the ways already mentioned. A further example is the design and production of solar ovens to cut ex-

penditures for energy, or to produce and/or industrialize foods (seeds, fish culture, home gardens with a system of intensive cultivation, processing of breadstuffs and cereals). What is important is that it be local production to satisfy local needs.

Local production that is not oriented to local needs, as happens with quality artisan crafts, either creates elites within the community, continues to provide cheap labor, or results in a combination of both.

Small local industries are feasible when there is available technical competence to adapt and experiment, as well as a minimum of financial resources. The limitations are not just the political or commercial constraints, nor the lack of experience of the local population in running productive enterprises. The principal difficulty comes from those who think it is an easy solution. The principal challenge is to convince the poor of the cities that through work they can liberate themselves from oppression. Nonetheless, as has been previously stated, We have to have enough patience not to expect that the poor, besides being poor, be saints.

A premise of this strategy is to speak first with action, and only then with words. This strategy takes advantage of available time and promises the achievement of substantive results. By no means is confrontation with power groups avoided. What is sought, however, is not meaningless confrontation but negotiation from a position of strength. Power comes from the control of local production and consumption; the liberation of the periphery can only take place when this happens.■

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CED-PROLAC, Chihuahua, México. Photo courtesy of Central de Estudios Generales, A.C.

Women: unrecognized leaders

Kathleen Logan

Distinct roles for women and for men have been a common feature of many community development projects. For example, it is men who are customarily given the leadership or primary participant roles in these projects. Men have such roles because developmental agencies often assume that men are the most influential people in the community and are, therefore, the key people to enlist in order to bring about effective change. Women, on the other hand, are seldom given the central roles in overall community development. Instead, the projects geared to them commonly stress a home and familial orientation.

Yet, in some community development projects women have chosen roles for themselves that are quite different from those which have traditionally been created for them by developmental agencies. For example, Elmendorf's (1976) study shows the active role Mayan women in a Yucatan town have in initiating changes they deem beneficial for themselves, their children, and their community.[1] Similarly, Olson (1977) describes the active political role women have taken in their north Mexican community.[2]

While there may be many sound reasons for a division of sex roles in community development in specific settings, these studies show that such a division may not always be the choice of the participants themselves.

This discrepancy makes it clear that the issue of appropriate sex roles in community development needs to be re-examined. In particular, such a re-examination must involve an analysis of the basic working assumptions of developmental agencies. This is necessary because barriers to change often arise when the basic assumptions of developmental agencies are in conflict with the actual behavior of the project clients. Different definitions of appropriate roles are an example of this kind of potential disagreement between developmental agencies and their clients.

A close look at a community development project in a large Central American city provides a starting point to examine definitions of sex roles in community development and the kinds of problems which can arise when these definitions differ.

This particular project is the creation of a group of young, dedicated professional people who believe in putting their ideas of social justice into action. In fact, they are engaged in community development work primarily because of their commitment to certain Christian ideals about the basic humanity and worth of all people and their own obligation to help those less fortunate than themselves.

Their project is centered on overall community development in a new *barrio* with a population of 35,000. Some of the people in the *barrio* are recent migrants to the city from rural areas; others are life-long city residents who have moved here to escape crowded inner-city housing. Most *barrio* residents are from lower or lower-middle income groups.

A special interest of the developmental staff on this project is raising the consciousness of the *barrio* residents so that they can reflect on their situation and find the means to solve their own problems. To this end, the members of the staff pride themselves on using innovative techniques, such as puppet theater and socio-dramas, to communicate with the people of the *barrio*. In addition to seeking ideological change, the agency staff also try to help the community by providing more traditional aid, such as worker and consumer cooperatives and the services of social workers and medical doctors.

Yet, in spite of the staff's talent, dedication, and sincerity, in spite of their well-intentioned and imaginative programs, this community development project

failed.

What were the reasons for this failure? An analysis of the project reveals that conflicts between the developmental agency and the project clients over definitions of appropriate sex roles were instrumental in the unfortunate and unnecessary failure of this project.

What then were the appropriate sex roles as defined by the developmental agency? The agency believed that men should be the central figures in the project because they were assumed to be the leaders in the community and therefore the individuals most vital to enlist to insure the project's success. For example, much of the agents' time and energy was spent trying to develop means to involve men in the project. And, when particular programs in the project were evaluated, a critical factor in determining success in the agents' terms was the number of men who had participated. Programs were considered successful only if significant number of men had taken part. The number of women, young people, or children who had participated was not taken into consideration. If "only" women, teenagers, or children had taken part, the program was considered unimportant and not worthy of continued support.

Clearly, it was the men who were assumed to be the key personnel in this community development project. Women, on the other hand, were given roles that emphasized a home and familial orientation. For example, the social work program that focused on family issues was geared to them. None of the other programs within the project were directed toward women nor were women encouraged to take part in them.

A special event planned for Mothers' Day clearly demonstrated the development agency's idea of appropriate roles for women. An audio-visual presentation was first shown which traced the history of women through religious figures such as the Virgin Mary, emphasizing the importance of motherhood and housewivery. This was followed by a socio-drama with a similar emphasis. Both the slide presentation and socio-drama were supportive of women as wives, mothers, and homemakers. In fact, women were presented only in these roles. That Mothers' Day was chosen as the time to honor women, of course, underscores the same message about what the agents felt were the appropriate roles for women. It is clear that the change agents saw women as helpers within the familial realm and not as leaders in community affairs.

On the other hand, what were the roles actually taken on by women and men in the project? In contrast to the women's roles as defined by the change agency, the community women selected quite different roles for themselves—ones which involved taking leadership stances and direct action in overall community development. This was particularly evident in their actions to solve one of their community's most grievous problems—that of getting sufficient water. On three separate occasions protest demonstrations were held to bring this problem to the attention of the municipal authorities. Two of these protests involved several hundred women who walked or rode to city hall and confronted city officials with their complaints. In the second of these demonstrations, women brought their children with them and bathed them in the large fountain in front of city hall to emphasize their point about the lack of water in their community. Each of these protests was carefully planned, from making placards, to renting buses, and selecting spokeswomen to represent the group. A third demonstration involved fifty women who staged a short sit-in at a mini-city hall near their community. Although some change agents assisted in organizing the first demonstration, the community women played the key roles in this and the two subsequent demonstrations.

Women's leadership and activities in community development were also shown when they organized another protest about rising prices for dairy products. In this case, they organized a boycott of dairy products sold in their community. Although they undertook this action with some misgivings (because they felt the cause of the high prices lay outside the community), the protest did serve notice to local store owners that they could not engage in price gouging in this *barrio*.

In addition to demonstrating leadership in these protest actions, the women also were instrumental in organizing and leading particular types of community groups. For example, one young woman organized a folklore dance group for young girls which performed successfully at several local *fiestas*. Another woman started a discussion group of pre-teenage girls to talk about their own problems and those of the community. A third young woman began a children's group where she teaches in the style of "Plaza Sèsame," a popular local version of the American television show, "Sesame Street."

While the preceding examples all show the dynamism of women in the community, it should be noted that women also represented the largest number of actual participants in the community development project. The agency social workers organized seven women's discussion groups all of which met weekly. An average of ten women attended each group, making a total of seventy participants. Probably twenty or thirty more women attended the groups on an irregular basis. No other part of the project in the community ever attracted on a continuing basis the number of people the women's groups did.

In contrast to the active role of women in the community, few men have taken such active roles, either in agency proj-

ects or in community development generally. A handful of men sought to bring change through a community council, set up by the developmental agency, which met twice monthly. Beyond the work of these men in the council, however, very few men were involved in the agency's community development project or other types of community development activities.

It is clear that women played the major role in community development in this *barrio*. It is also clear that the role they selected for themselves is in contrast to that created for them by the developmental agency. What, then, was the impact of this difference in role definition? The response of the male developmental agents was simply to ignore the active role women had taken in the community. Nothing was done to advise the women nor was praise given to their efforts. Women's activism was rarely discussed and seemingly went unnoticed. In fact, their efforts received no positive reinforcement from the agency staff at all, except from the three social workers (all women).

Yet, three of the half dozen or so men who had taken leadership roles in the community were widely recognized and praised within the agency for their activities. The ultimate recognition for their efforts came when these three men were hired by the agency to do organizing work in their own community.

It seems that a kind of "selective perception" existed among the developmental agents, which rendered the active role taken by women "invisible". What kinds of problems did this "invisibility" of women's roles cause for the community development project? First, by failing to recognize the active role of women, the developmental agency alienated its major source of present and future leadership in the community and its largest number of project participants. Second, policy conflicts within the agency arose, which ultimately stemmed from the conflicting definitions of sex roles. For example, when the social workers tried to broaden the role of women in the project and supplied evidence that women were already taking these roles, they were either ignored by the male agents or were simply told that these were not appropriate roles for women. Consequently, no additional funds were forthcoming to aid the women's efforts nor were practical policy issues arising from their activism given a serious hearing within the agency.

By 1977, the conflicts between the reality of the actual roles taken by the women in the community and those assumed to be appropriate for them by the developmental agency had come to a head. All three female social workers left the agency to pursue other personal and career opportunities, with only a single social worker hired to replace them. Given her work load, she could not serve as the contact point and information source for the women's groups. These two services which had been provided by the social workers proved to be crucial to the ongoing success of the women's groups. In the absence of these services, the community women had difficulty sustaining regular group activity. In addition, their groups were widely scattered throughout the *barrio*, which somewhat hampered their efforts to get together. Nonetheless, they had been able to effectively organize particular protest actions by themselves. In the end, it was not so much that the women had left the program but that the program had abandoned them.

The loss of the project's most numerous and most active participants was the beginning of the end of this community development project. Administrative and financial problems intensified these difficulties and ultimately sealed its fate. The entire project "faded out" of the community—a sad and unnecessary failure in community development.

Why did this happen? In this case, as in other community development projects, the change agency based its programs on assumptions that were invalid. By assuming that men would be the leaders in the community, the agency designed its developmental project to give men rather than women the key roles. By doing this, it in effect structured its own failure since it was the women who proved to be most active in community development efforts. Developmental agencies themselves can create barriers to their own projects simply by failing to examine the assumptions on which they base these projects. As developmental agencies become more aware of their assumptions, they will no doubt take action to assure that they do not create such barriers for themselves in the future.

There is, however, another lesson to be learned from the failure of this community development project. Since sex roles are changing in many contemporary societies, close attention must be paid to how men and women in developing areas of the world are re-defining their roles. For example, it seems that certain settings facilitate women taking an active role in community development. In the *barrio* described here, it is the women who spend more time in the community and are more aware of its problems. When water shortages occur, they are the ones who cannot cook or wash or bathe children. Men, on the other hand, are away from the community far more, working as many of them do in factories, construction sites, and markets in other parts of the city. Their absence from the community seems to make them less involved with its problems. In addition, women have more flexible time which they can structure to suit their needs. Women's housework and child rearing duties are more easily scheduled to permit time to attend meetings or organize events. In contrast, men have less opportunity to structure their own time because of the set working

hours required by their employment.

It may also be that the women in this *barrio* and others like it throughout Latin America take active and leading roles in their communities because the urban environment in which they live permits greater diversity of behavior and provides more exposure to alternative models of behavior than rural environments do. In addition, these women have had more formal education (an average of six years of primary school) than women in rural areas generally have had. Thus, since they can read and write, they have direct access to many sources of information denied illiterates. This access to information gives them exposure to knowledge potentially useful to them. It is also possible that their schooling gives them a basic training in logic that enables them to analyze situations more effectively.

In any case, the issue of changing sex role definitions is one to which developmental agencies must pay careful attention. If the guideline for effective and just development is (1) to encourage people to gain more control over their environment; (2) to help them learn to select alternatives for themselves; and (3) to reflect on these processes, then developmental agencies must carefully examine their own working assumptions about the people they wish to help. It may be that some of their assumptions are not valid, as was the case with sex role definitions in the community development project discussed here.■

Notes

[1] Elmendorf, Mary Lindsay, 1976 *Nine Mayan Women*—A Village Faces Change. Cambridge, Mass.: Schenknan Publishing Co.

[2] Olson, Jon L. 1977 "Women and Social Change in a Mexican Town" *Journal of Anthropological Research* Vol. 33, pp. 73-88.

Kathleen Logan is an assistant professor in the Departments of Anthropology and Urban Studies at the University of Alabama in Birmingham. In 1974 she received an IAF Fellowship to study change agent-client interaction in a community development project in a Central American city. Since the awarding of her doctorate in anthropology from Bryn Mawr College in 1977, she has continued her interest in urban areas, especially in Latin America. Her most recent article on this topic is "Urban Anthropology Moving Toward a Synthesis", to appear in the winter 1979 issue of the Journal of Urban History. The exact location and identity of the developmental project discussed in this article have been withheld in order to protect the confidentiality of those involved.

Brazilian girl. Photo by Edgar Ricardo von Buettner.

IAF grants

INTER-AMERICAN FOUNDATION GRANTS
As of May 31, 1978

Number of projects approved	661
Total grant funds approved	US$74,236,767[1]
Grantee and other contributions as percentage	54%
IAF disbursements	58,505,477
Fiscal Year 1978	10,739,242
1977	13,647,551
1976[2]	2,517,547
1976	10,417,754
1975	13,045,979
1974	5,255,753
1973	2,428,963
1972	452,688

[1] Does not include Fellowships or Invitational Travel. [2] Three-month fiscal period.

SUMMARY OF PROGRAM APPROVALS FISCAL YEARS 1971–1977

	No. of Projects	% of total Projects	AMOUNT
CENTRAL REGION[1]	239	41%	25,624,355
EASTERN REGION[2]	181	31%	14,208,883
WESTERN REGION[3]	136	23%	24,619,931
OTHER PROJECTS[4]	33	5%	686,028
FELLOWSHIPS	—	—	463,128
INVITATIONAL TRAVEL	—	—	82,785
CONSULTANTS	—	—	19,023
TOTAL	589	100%	65,704,133

FISCAL YEAR 1978

	No. of Projects	% of total Projects	AMOUNT
CENTRAL REGION[1]	23	32%	3,153,224
EASTERN REGION[2]	15	21%	2,447,940
WESTERN REGION[3]	33	46%	3,463,583
OTHER PROJECTS[4]	1	1%	32,823
FELLOWSHIPS	—	—	421,150
INVITATIONAL TRAVEL	—	—	3,985
CONSULTANTS	—	—	52,902
TOTAL	72	100%	9,575,607

[1] Caribbean, Central America, Mexico, and Panama. [2] Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay. [3] Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela. [4] Funds spent in the U.S. on learning and dissemination, usually involving Latin American and Caribbean grantees.

Summary of Grants October 1977 to June 1978

ARGENTINA

Cooperativa Popular de Trabajo, Ltda.—AR-055
$41,500; 8/19/77
This grant will enable CPT to expand production by purchasing weaving and sewing equipment and raw materials. Cooperativa members will be taught new weaving techniques and trained in cooperativism and management skills.

Sindicato de Trabajadores del Frigorífico de Gualeguaychu—AR-057
$10,000; 12/16/77
The labor union of meat workers in Gualeguaychu, Entre Rôs, will give training courses in labor organization, cooperativism, community development, local planning, and other fields of local and regional development.

Asociación de Fomento Rural de Guanacos—AR-059
$69,000; 4/21/78
The Asociaciòn de Fomento Rural de Guanacos will offer a farm services center and training to its members to teach more effective utilization of land and management of organizational and capital resources. The Asociaciòn will also build a bridge across a river which now separates the two parts of the community.

Cooperativa Peumayen—AR-064
$24,000; 11/17/77
The grant will enable the Cooperativa Peumayen to create a small credit program, improve facilities for sheep shearing and community health services, and to continue training its members in cooperativism and cooperative management.

Cooperativa de Trabajo Textil Gualeguaychu (CTTG)—AR-065
$22,000; 1/13/78
This grant will enable the Cooperativa de Trabajo Textil Gualeguaychu to establish a garment production operation, the intent of which is to supplement the often-less-than-subsistence-level incomes of the primary wage earners in the town.

Cooperativa Agrícola de Industrialización Picada Galitzsiana—AR-067
$31,500; 1/13/78
This grant will enable the Cooperative's members to purchase and install Yerba-Mate drying equipment in a building they will construct with volunteer labor. The drying service will be made available to members and neighbors below commercial rates. The co-op's savings and earnings will be used for community development projects and to further control processing and marketing of their crop.

BOLIVIA

Cooperativa de Ahorro y Crédito Bella Vista—BO-060
$97,500; 11/4/77
Principally through a rotating loan fund and support for an education program managed by the beneficiaries, IAF funds will enable the Bella Vista Cooperative to market local produce and expand an incipient consumer network, in both cases bypassing exploitative middlemen and obtaining for cooperative members a greater degree of control over their economic environment.

CARIBBEAN

Christian Action for Development in the Caribbean (CADEC)—CAR-031
$603,000; 2/6/78
CADEC, the development arm of the Caribbean Conference of Churches, established a loan and grant fund to support the various development projects in the Caribbean. By making this grant, the Foundation is able to provide funds to a large number of grassroots organizations

whose objectives the Foundation supports. Moreover, this grant strengthens a Caribbean capability to provide technical and financial assistance to groups that do not normally qualify for assistance from commercial and governmental programs.

University of the West Indies Standing Committee for the Encouragement of the Creative and Performing Arts in the Caribbean—CAR-034
$31,500; 1/18/78
Kenneth Corsbie, Caribbean playwright, actor, producer, and journalist, is recognized for his active involvement throughout the region in assisting other dramatists and artists to understand how regional events and processes affect the common man. The grant will assist Mr. Corsbie to establish a Theater Information Exchange (T.I.E.) in Barbados, establish a small rotating loan fund to help local artists record their work, organize a second Conference of Caribbean Dramatists, organize local training programs, and to write and publish his findings on theater in the Caribbean.

CHILE

Cooperativa Campesina Cisnes, Ltda. (COCACIL)—CH-095
$67,265; 1/10/78
COCACIL will lumber area forests, operate a saw mill, market lumber, and provide educational services to its membership. Through these and other efforts, the cooperative can reach a level of social and economic development permitting it to act as a self-sustaining force for regional development.

Cooperativa Campesina El Sol, Ltda.—CH-100
$224,000; 1/18/78
As part of its program to provide production, marketing, educational, and technical assistance services adapted to the needs and possibilities of the poorest farmers, El Sol will establish and operate a production and marketing credit fund and an experimental agricultural extension program which will increase the productivity and income of its membership.

Fundación Departamento Universitario Obrero Campesino (DUOC)—CH-101
$36,100; 12/19/77
DUOC is conducting an evaluation which will measure both direct and indirect "social effects" of its education program on *campesinos* and their communities, while attempting to determine whether or not its program was responsible for these changes. This nontraditional evaluation will involve all those connected with the project and will provide DUOC staff with an internal evaluation capability and the *campesinos* with the ability to reflect on their experiences and act accordingly.

Centro de Estudios para el Desarrollo Cooperativo (CEDEC)—CH-107
$25,000; 2/3/78
CEDEC will design an organizational development methodology adapted to the needs of worker-operated businesses and rural cooperatives. For urban labor-owned firms, CEDEC will experiment with organizational development techniques to determine how traditional management and operational structures can be changed to support self-management decisionmaking processes. In the rural area, CEDEC will assist cooperatives to develop their human resources so that they can more effectively plan, implement, and evaluate social and economic development activities.

Instituto de Educación Rural (IER)—CH-109
$155,908; 4/5/78
IER will assist the community of Alto Chelle in establishing a rural family school. The family school methodology of *alternancia* is one which alternates the student between the classroom and farm home at definite intervals. At the end of three years the program will be evaluated before new schools are established in other communities.

Instituto de Autogestión—CH-110
$24,850; 2/24/78
The Instituto will undertake a study to design an information system for worker-managed firms in order to improve decisionmaking processes and the performance of the enterprises. Enterprises which are representative of the firms associated with the worker self-managed sector will participate and benefit from the study. Once information systems have been established, the Instituto will evaluate this program and disseminate the results to other labor-managed firms.

Escuela de Formación de Ejecutivos en Cooperativa San José LTDA—CH-113
$3,000; 1/19/78
The grant will enable the Escuela to complete studies in curriculum development, a survey of cooperative enterprises, and financial plans. It will also permit the school to disseminate its program among cooperative groups and begin to inscribe students in its administrative courses.

Evaluation of Matemáticas para la Mayoria Project—CH-116
$15,604; 1/31/78
This evaluation will assess the outcome of a program that teaches basic mathematics to adults by means of instructional materials that are intended to produce cognitive, affective, and social gains among participating students. The practical significance of the study is found in the information to be provided to the developers of the program as they recommend it for adoption among groups and interested institutions.

COLOMBIA

Instituto Colombiano de Desarrollo Social (ICODES)—CO-130
$59,000; 12/9/77
By formal request, ICODES, with the Association of Woodcutters, will formulate a concentrated plan to improve their current production practices, assist them in educational and organizational efforts, elaborate together a current work plan, and study the possibility of future social and economic development activities.

Futuro para la Niñez—CO-137
$92,000; 2/3/78
Futuro will acquire and equip a building to serve as training center for its rural development assistance program. Futuro staff will work with more than 200 communities, serving as resources to local groups which are defining their own needs and managing their own programs.

Fundación para la Aplicación y la Enseñanza de las Ciencias (FUNDAEC)—CO-138
$55,000; 1/13/78
A revolving credit fund will be established to finance small agricultural and social service projects managed by community associations with the assistance of multi-disciplinary, university-level-trained agents of rural background. To market the resultant increase in local agricultural produce, FUNDAEC will also establish a store in a nearby center which will bypass commercial middlemen in selling directly and cheaply to low-income consumers.

Cooperativa de Producción Agropecuaria "Buenos Aires Ltda." (COOPROAGRO)—CO-139
$11,344; 11/23/77
This project is a reunion/conference of the alumni association (ANEXIMCA) of the Campesino Institute. Conference activities include: sharing experiences for the purposes of mutual learning and enhancing the work each is engaged in with the *campesino* population, and to analyze political and economic factors which affect rural development and the *campesino* population.

Carlos Diaz—CO-141
$678; 1/9/78
As a representative of the Cooperativa Multiactiva de Costureras and other worker groups, Carlos Diaz will visit labor-managed enterprises in Chile to obtain information on how to initiate a small scale financial system, how to render appropriate training and technical assistance without building an expensive superstructure, and how to assure worker participation in managerial decisions.

ECUADOR

Instituto Radiofónico "Fé y Alegria" (IRFEYAL)—EC-044
$144,750; 3/30/78
IRFEYAL has developed and carried out radio adult education programs for rural communities in the coastal region of Ecuador. With the grant, IRFEYAL will be able to extend its program of writing, mathematics, agriculture, and health to a wider audience of adult students.

Servicio Ecuatoriano de Voluntarios Chimborazo (SEV/CH)—EC-050
$106,000; 1/30/78
SEV/CH will be complementing its ongoing rural service programs with services oriented toward the temporary indigenous *campesino* migrant population of Riobamba. A *campesino* center will be constructed to house services such as literacy training, artisan skills training, conscientization, and agricultural skills training. Also provided will be inter-institutional liaison to meet specific resource needs as identified by the *campesinos*.

HAITI

L'Institut de Consultation, Evaluation et Formation de Personnel (ICEF)—HA-037
$29,855; 11/17/77
The grant will enable ICEF to assist rural groups to organize their activities by: 1) providing consultation on project planning and implementation, leadership training, and seminars on community action and development; 2) organize regularly scheduled intra- and inter-group meetings; and 3) assist those groups needing financial and special technical assistance to contact appropriate institutions. These services will enable rural groups to increase their organizational skills by which means they will be able to more successfully implement their proposed solutions to the problems they confront.

LATIN AMERICA

Department of Anthropology, University of Wisconsin—LA-043
$14,655; 3/2/78
The University of Wisconsin is sponsoring a second conference which will provide a forum in which representatives from indigenous groups, support entities, and business and government can meet to discuss such issues as colonization, education, human rights, health, and the impact of multi-national corporations working in the Amazon Basin. Grant funds will help pay travel costs and conference fees for representatives from South American countries.

MEXICO

Fundación Mexicana para el Desarrollo Rural—(ME-085)
$855,000; 12/20/77
The FMDR will increase its organizational capabilities to serve its affiliated or-

ganizations by: instituting intensive personnel training, creating systematic technical assistance programs, establishing a planning capacity, and undertaking marketing studies. Operations will be expanded by increasing the number of service centers to 20, securing contributions from 3,000 individuals and increasing credit flows to about $8.8 million. About 650 small farmer groups, or 126,000 individuals, are expected to benefit. The grant provides $469,400 for revolving funds and $380,600 for operational expenses.

Area de Desarrollo Rural, Departamento de Desarrollo Humano, Universidad Iberoamericana—ME-088
$293,820; 12/22/77
This project will support the development of rural communities in the state of Tlaxcala through a training program for 30-36 participants under the supervision of a university coordinating team with different areas of expertise. Graduates of the program will be awarded an M.A. in Rural Development. The program is expected to clarify a role for the university in rural development.

Central de Servicios para la Promoción Integral de Artesanos, A.C.—ME-092
$133,020; 10/20/77
The Central will provide financial, marketing, technical, and educational services to artisan groups in the states of Guerrero and Puebla. Regional centers will be formed, operated by artisan cooperatives themselves, to assume the service program of the Central. Foundation funds will be used to capitalize revolving funds for production and marketing, purchase of a truck, office supplies and equipment, and rental payments for a retail craft shop in Mexico City.

Central de Cooperativas de Consumo—ME-096
$30,050; 2/7/78
This grant will establish a central buying cooperative to service five existing consumer cooperatives, as well as two in promotion, in five poor communities on the periphery of the city of Chihuahua. Funds are requested for a delivery truck, building materials, initial stock, and salaries for a manager, driver, and promotional staff. Profits will be used for production purposes, community projects, and savings and loan funds for members.

Sociedad Cooperativa "La Misión," S.C.L.—ME-097
$93,000; 1/11/78
"La Misiòn" is a consumer cooperative associated with 52 cooperatives in the States of Tabasco and Chiapas. It plans to combine the purchasing power of these cooperatives by building and equipping a warehouse and operating its own freight truck. It is expected that savings of 15-20 percent can be obtained on staple goods and that the cooperatives will thus be able to finance production projects. The cooperatives will provide personnel, operating capital, and the real property of the existing 52 cooperative stores; Foundation funds will be used to buy a truck, supplies for the warehouse, and to cover the costs of constructing and equipping the warehouse.

NICARAGUA

Cooperativa de Servicios de Agua Potable, "El Esfuerzo," R.L.—NC-031
$81,600; 1/31/78
The grant will make it possible for three rural communities to establish a water system to improve health conditions, irrigate lands for increasing agricultural production, and decrease costs so that water can be made available to more people. Working together to resolve this problem should develop a cohesiveness within the communities to resolve other mutual problems, thereby increasing income potential and diminishing emigration to city slums.

Cooperativa de Ahorro y Crédito "La Candelaria," R.L.—NC-031
$81,600; 12/1/77
This grant will serve to expand the day care services of a savings and loan cooperative of women vendors in the Central Market of Chichigalpa, Nicaragua, in order to provide services for 40-50 children. This project should serve as a pilot for a program of day care centers throughout Nicaragua.

PANAMA

Community of Ustupu—PN-049
$9,110; 1/25/78
The Kuna Indians of Ustupu, through their Local Congress, have decided to open up 45 hectares of community-held lands for purposes of learning new agricultural methods, improving community nutrition, and increasing their production. The farming of this land would be done communally by 300 adult men from the community, overseen by a committee named by the elected Local Congress. The IAF supports this project in the conviction that it is in keeping with the beneficiaries' own cultural values and that only they should control the course of their own development.

PARAGUAY

Cooperative "MBOI-CAE" de Producción, Ltda.—PY-027
$32,000; 1/11/78
This grant will provide funds for the mechanization of the co-op's brick and tile making operations. By using profits gained from increased production, improved quality, and centralization of productive activities, the co-op will establish a loan fund to help members buy land and build houses once the area is flooded by the construction of the Yacyreta hydro-electric complex.

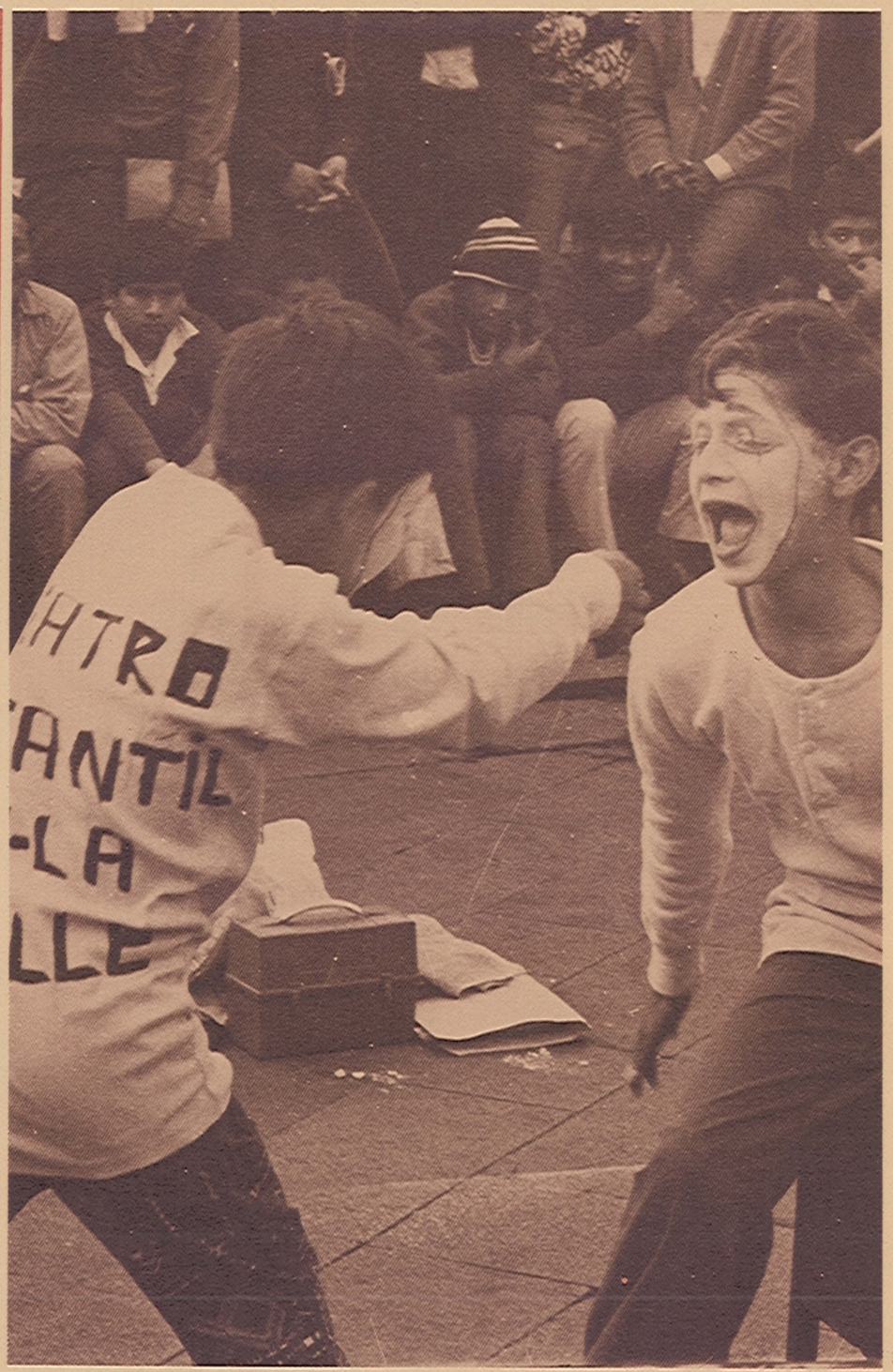
Misión San Agustin—PY-028
$37,600; 7/15/77
The purpose of this grant is to facilitate the permanent settlement of a group of 130 Ache-Guayaki Indians on a 2,200 hectare reserve in a manner that respects their traditional cultural patterns and encourages self-management and self-determination.

Sociedad Cooperativa Agrícola Pio XII Ltda.—PY-029
$91,200; 10/21/77
This grant will permit the cooperative to assume managerial responsibility for a rotating loan fund for one year and provide agricultural production and marketing loans to 29 groups in Caazapa and 19 in Caaguazu.

PERU

Asociación Civil de Promoción y Desarrollo Comunal de la Sexta Zona de El Agustino (ACIPRODEC)—PU-060
$221,000; 11/22/77
ACIPRODEC, an association of nearly 50 block organizations in one of Lima's numerous *barriadas,* recently initiated a program to remodel the entire community. As part of this effort, which will be planned, managed, and implemented by the residents themselves through elected committees, a unique industry will be established to produce construction materials. IAF financing will provide seed capital for the industry which will be owned and run by the entire community. Profits from the firm are to be invested in other community-owned enterprises.

Instituto Internacional de Investigación y Acción para el Desarrollo (INDA)—PU-064
$199,050; 3/2/78
During the two-year project, INDA will conduct research in six associative industries to investigate alternative organizational models that facilitate worker participation, experiment with procedures aimed at humanizing the place of work,



Children's popular theater. Lima, Peru. Photo courtesy of CEPTEL.

increase worker productivity, and establish training programs within the firms selected. Results of their efforts will be disseminated to interested groups throughout Perú.

Centro de Estudios Superiores de Propiedad Social (CESUPS)—PU-068
$4,800; 11/22/77
To develop a better understanding of the educational needs of workers in self-managed firms, CESUPS has invited workers charged with training responsibilities in the factories to confer in Lima. Based on their feedback, CESUPS, a new government organization established to support self-managed enterprises, will design future programs.

Instituto Internacional de Investigación y Acción para el Desarrollo (INDA)—PU-069
$4,000; 1/16/78
To develop a better understanding of appropriate programs and organizational structures that can be offered by their nascent institution, INDA staff have requested assistance from the Centro de Comunidades de Trabajo in Chile (CCT). The director of CCT will work with INDA staff in Lima for two months. INDA's president will then go to Chile to visit self-managed industries and support institutions.

URUGUAY

Cooperativa Obrera de Albañileria y Hormigón Armado (CODAYHA)—UR-021
$31,300; 3/78
This grant will assist CODAYHA to raise its productivity, making it a more efficient and competitive construction enterprise and thus permitting greater revenues; educate the families of its 300 members in cooperativist principles, thereby boosting cooperative morale and cohesion; and upgrade the quality of members' housing through self-help efforts.

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IN THIS ISSUE. . . .

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The purpose of the JOURNAL is to encourage communication, relationships, and the exchange of ideas and experiences among individuals and groups who are engaged in social, economic, and educational activities for the advancement, well-being, and self-reliance of Latin American and Caribbean peoples.

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